UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Plan for Solution of War Debts Question

By Salmon O. Levinson

The worldwide depression, now commonly ascribed to the colossal waste of the great war and for the last year seriously involving the United States, has brought definitely and inescapably to the forefront the question of German reparations and allied and inter-allied debts. The issue must be met and solved, not unfairly nor by dint of epithets, but as a business problem in an economic situation unprecedented in the world's history.

I have always opposed the cancellation of the allied debts owing to the United States, and still oppose cancellation. But like many another word in the English language, that word has been much misused. The situation with reference to reparations and debts can best be understood by a miniature analogy. Take the case of any distressed business corporation: it has bondholders, unsecured creditors, preferred and common stockholders. It needs reorganization, readjustment. What happens? Are the bondholders and other creditors asked to cancel their claims? Not at all. Recognizing the inability of the corporation to meet the obligations as they stand, a plan is developed in which all creditors make concessions in the common interest and for their common benefit. And reorganizations are the most effective form of rehabilitation known to the business world.

Therefore, it is not a question of the United States "cancelling" the debts owing to it; it is rather a question of the United States joining in an equitable enterprise in behalf of the economic salvation of the world, including its own. Nor does it profit us to say that the German reparations and allied debts are separate and distinct things and have no legal connection. Grant that they do or do not and the situation is the same. In the war the United States was not a member of the "allies"; we were an "associate" of the allies. So likewise the debts and reparations may not be "allied," but they are certainly "associated" together.

Let us take another homespun analogy. Suppose John Smith, a distressed debtor, owes a bank $10,000. He has future "capacity to pay"; but he has a claim against a railroad for $10,000 which has no possible connection, legal or other, with the creation of the debt to the bank. Would the bank as a creditor not be interested in the collection of this claim against the railroad, it being the most available asset to pay the debt? Of course it would. The payment of German reparations to our debtors has been the greatest quick asset available for the payment of the debts owing us, and we, therefore, are deeply interested in the question of German reparations as a mere matter of business judgment.

Now, what is the situation with reference to the German reparations?

(*Continued on Page* 288)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

VOLUME CVII MONDAY, JUNE 29, 1931 NUMBER 18

THE SOLDIER LOOKS AT THE WAR!

"We were duped, I tell you, duped as even yet we hardly realize. . . . can't you see? They stuffed out the word 'Patriotism' with all the twaddle of their fine phrases, with their desire for glory, their will to power, their false romanticism, their stupidity, their greed of business, and then paraded it before us as a shining ideal! And we thought they were sounding a bugle summoning us to a new, a more strenuous, a larger life. . . . But we were making war against ourselves without knowing it! Every shot that struck home, struck one of us! Can't you see? Then listen, and I will bawl it into your ears. The youth of the world rose up in every land, believing that it was fighting for freedom! And in every land they were duped and misused; in every land they have been shot down, they have experimented with each other! Don't you see now? There is only one fight, the fight against the lie, the half-truth, compromise, against the old order. But we let ourselves be taken in by their fine phrases; and instead of fighting against them, we fought for them. We thought it was for the Future. It was against the Future. Our future is dead, for the youth is dead that carried it. . . . A generation annihilated! A generation of hope, of faith, of will, of strength, of ability, so hypnotized that they have shot down one another, though over the whole world they all had the same purpose."

—Erich Maria Remarque, in "The Road Back"

If war breaks out in Europe in July, as Ludendorff prophesies, or in 1935, as other experts prophesy, or still later, if at all, who will be responsible? The lesson of the Great War should have taught us long before this that, in a case of this kind, no one statesman, or nation, is exclusively responsible for catastrophe. The blame for the next war, as for the last war, will be distributed. None the less, as students put the major responsibility for 1914 on Germany, or on Russia, or on Austria, or on France, so do we believe that, if war comes, we can put the major responsibility on one power—in this case, without question, *France!* It is France which has done more than any other one nation since 1919 to maintain in Europe the psychological, political and economic conditions of war. France, as a matter of fact, has never made peace, and never demobilized. The conflict begun in 1914 she has maintained unremittingly on two fronts. First, the Russian front—with her string of little militaristic powers, of which Poland is the chief, posted like so many entrenched armies against the Soviets. Secondly, the German front—with France herself bending the Reich beneath the yoke of oppression like the most ruthless of ancient conquerors. The present attitude of the French Republic on two matters of pressing importance shows precisely what we mean. In a desperate struggle for economic survival, Germany made her customs union with Austria, which will be destroyed if France has her way. In a similar desperate struggle for political survival, Germany is pleading for revision of the Young Plan, only to meet with the flat opposition of France. Set these two instances against the background of France's army, her new and utterly stupendous frontier fortifications, her unparalleled fighting strength in the air, and we have a perfect picture of war in the making. If the world really destroyed Germany, only to get France in her place, what has been gained?

First, they discharged people. They cut down their working force to a minimum. Hence the unemployed who thronged the streets of our cities and hunted jobs and haunted hidden corners of despair and misery during this past winter. Then they cut down the working time of those who were not discharged. Two days or three days a week off without pay—and now, this summer, weeks and in some cases months off without pay! This device has stemmed a bit the tide of unemployment, but has widened the area of poverty. Now they are cutting down wages—ten per cent, twenty per cent, twenty-five per cent. Labor has fought this reduction bitterly, and delayed the inevitable for a considerable period, but at last it had to come, and here it is! The tragedy of wage-cuts is the loss of standards gained through long years of struggle and sacrifice; the justification is reduced pay for the employees as the only alternative to bankruptcy. This was threatened months ago by selfish capitalists glad to use the opportunity of bad times to break the power of labor, but now it is here as grim and terrible reality. Such are the stages of the slow descent into the Avernus of misery and starvation. And the end is not yet! For as wages are being cut today, so dividends will be cut tomorrow, and the day after tomorrow will be stopped altogether. Not by any means have we yet reached the bottom of this awful crisis. The winter

already looming ahead of us after the summer days is destined to be without precedent or parallel the most dreadful winter this country has ever known. And so far as we can see, no preparation is being made for it at all. Talk about preparedness! Why not drop a few warships and machine-guns, and do something to meet the terrific battle against starvation which is already upon us?

Nobody will ever make us believe that Mr. Hoover is not a brave man. We have been told that the President is timid, vacillating, feeble, but we know now that he has the courage of a lion to face the worst of dangers. Our evidence is the Harding Memorial and its dedication by President Hoover on June 16th last. Search the annals of American history, and find if you can a single act of heroism to match with this of Mr. Hoover in marching straight up to the tomb of his predecessor and speaking eulogy of his fame! It was magnificent, and yet futile. For not all the words of an orator much abler than the President could make this marble memorial other than what it is—a monument to imperishable shame. Its columns, though placed in a circle, remind one of the rows of columns which surround and sustain the Lincoln Memorial in Washington. In this latter edifice, each column bears a name—the name of some one of the forty-eight states. The columns of the Harding Memorial might well bear names also. *Fall* would have to be inscribed above one of these gleaming shafts. The next one should be capped by the word, *Daugherty*. Then on the third would come *Forbes*. The fourth would be appropriately labelled *"Doc" Sawyer*. And so on 'round the circle, till all the noble names of this great era had found their places! This would be a spectacle worth seeing. And it would be a lesson in history which all the nation might well read and ponder. At bottom we think it an ironic tragedy that this memorial was ever reared. Would it not have been better, and infinitely more kind, to let Mr. and Mrs. Harding rest at last in peace?

On a single page of the New York *Times* a little time ago appeared some interesting Prohibition news. Remember, please, that the *Times,* like all other New York papers, is "wet." Then note the following! (1) The Columbia Broadcasting System had the ingenious idea of making contact with "Rum Row" off New York harbor, and getting the captain of one of the rum-running ships to address the "listeners-in" about his business. A skipper was found to talk and he said, among other things, that "the fleet was supplying only *a tenth* of its former alcoholic import to the eastern sea-board." He also stated that the "toughest" thing the rum ships had to contend with was the Coast Guard. Enforcement of the law is evidently not quite so impotent and fraudulent as we have been led to suppose? (2) A canvass of 1964 buildings on the upper east side of New York was made in a certain night by fifty tenement house inspectors and twenty-five policemen in search of stills and other fire hazards. The raid was made without warning, and to the vast confusion and indignation of the population. Innumerable fire hazards were found—312 baby-carriages in hall-ways, 306 houses inadequately lighted, 60 balconies and fire-escapes cluttered up with household equipment—but *not one still!* Yet we are told that these tenement districts in New York are "alive" with stills! (3) The Association Against the Prohibition Amendment recently announced that the nation's drink bill in 1929 was $2,800,000,000. How this total was reached nobody knows. But the American Business Men's Prohibition Foundation took this estimate and compared it with exact figures of expenditure in the old saloon days, and had no difficulty in showing that the "$2,800,000,000 is less than one-third of what our drink expenditures would have been had not the 18th Amendment intervened." If news of this kind can get through the "wet" barrage, think of what we might know if the channels of information were really open.

The verdict of the League of Nations Commission regarding the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem is one of those compromises so characteristic of the diplomatic mind. Like all such compromises, it settles everything, or nothing, according to the spirit of those upon whom the decision is imposed. In this case it is more than usually important to mark distinction between shadow and substance, form and spirit. Outwardly the Moslems have won a complete victory. They claimed that the Wailing Wall and the pavement in the blind alley in front of it was their property, and the Commission has decided that they were right. But—and this is a big "but"!—the Commission has also decided that the Jews have had the right from time immemorial not only to worship at the Wailing Wall but to have free access to the place at all times, and to conduct their devotions, unmolested, in a decent and dignified manner, and that this right is as valid today as it ever was. The Moslems have saved their faces—the property is theirs. But they can make no use of the property, for such use belongs to the Jews! *The American Hebrew* declares that this verdict indicates that "here is a victory neither for Moslem nor for Jew." We cannot agree! In all that is real and substantial this is most emphatically a victory for the Jew. What the Moslem in this controversy was engaged in was aggression, whereas the Jew was engaged in defense. Now, by authority of the League of Nations, the aggression is repelled, and the defense sustained and perpetuated. The Moslem won the headlines—no doubt about that!

But the Jew achieved the constitution and all the by-laws. Our hope is that this shrewd settlement of the issue will be accepted by both sides as a real settlement, and lead to the better understanding between Jew and Moslem which can alone bring peace to Palestine.

Is Winston Churchill or—Fenner Brockway the typical Englishman? Does Poincaré or—Romain Rolland embody the French spirit; Is Hitler or—Sigmund Schultze the voice of Germany? Does Reed Smoot, or Jimmy Walker, or Senator Borah, or Norman Thomas represent the true mind and heart of the American people? Just to ask these questions is to discover how ridiculous it is to speak of any man as typical of his country, or even to suggest the reality of any such entity as a national spirit or mind. Time after time we hear some windy statesman or pompous soldier declaring that the American, or the English, or the French people think this, or will not stand for that. General Pershing, in his recent biography, is particularly fond of recording that the American people insisted during the War on this, or that—the "this" or "that" being in each case, of course, what the General himself believed or wanted. As a matter of fact, the people of any particular nation are as various as human nature. What a country thinks, or desires, or insists upon, is a chaotic pattern of conflicting popular opinions, ideas, and sheer prejudices. When a public man speaks, he speaks only for himself, and represents only that section of the citizenry, large or small, which chances to be of his same general temper or understanding. The real divisions between mankind are not the vertical barriers of nationality, race, and religion, but the horizontal barriers which separate the lower and higher levels of intelligence, training, and economic and social status. And these horizontal barriers, be it noted, cut right athwart all national frontiers and racial walls! Take any one people at any one time, and they are quite like any other people at the same time. We are all brethren "under the skin."

The Weak Ones

There is one subject of conversation at clubs, in homes, and on the streets, that has generally these days superceded the weather, the morals of the youth and even prohibition. This is, crime and criminals.

The man on the street, the woman in the home, the professor in his chair are agreed as to the importance, the extent and the danger involved in what is commonly called the Crime Wave. And when it comes to what ought to be done about it, what treatment ought to be accorded the "criminals," there is also a general agreement that they ought to be punished and punished to the limit.

Within the last week I have heard from the lips of men of education—education as far as school and college is concerned, say, "Put them up against a stone wall and shoot them." "Why not kill them?" "Shoot them on sight." "Why should society support these useless creatures?"

Shades of John Howard and Dorothea Dix! After more than a century of the study of crime and criminals on the part of earnest scholars in every country in the civilized world it appears that but little of the result of these has escaped into the world. What little of humane and rational methods has crept into our penal institutions seems to have done so secretly. When the knowledge of this reaches the general public there is an out-cry about "coddling the criminal" and the silliness of the "sob-sisters."

The sob-sisters of both sexes, it is true, make themselves known whenever any sensational murder trial occurs. But it is not the sob-sisters who are and have been for years making a serious and earnest attempt to reduce the amount of crime. As far as coddling the criminal is concerned, we are as far from it as were the authorities of the Inquisition. The prevalence of third degree methods and their acceptance by the public, the filthy rotten police stations, the dens—in which we should not confine a dog—which we call county jails, give no evidence of coddling the prisoner.

It is true that some little dent has been made in the situation by the National Prison Association. We may be moving in the right direction but if we are, it is very slowly. I know of two county jails under the very shadow of universities, in which there are professors of sociology giving courses on crime, that are filthy holes. And in the same cities in which these universities are located, are police stations that are so unfit for human habitation as to beggar description.

Even when a new jail is built, in which there is some regard for sanitation, there is generally evidence that the public attitude is one which envisages only punishment and vengeance. A jail in the third story of the court house may be a "safe" place for prisoners. It is also a "school for crime." No one who realizes what a year of loafing in a jail may mean—a year with nothing to do but associate with fellow unfortunates—can think of a sanitary jail as much of an improvement. It is a step in the right direction but unfortunately only a short step.

There are some notable exceptions among our state institutions. These are due for the most part to

the fortunate accident in the selection of the warden of a penitentiary. What they do must be done against a system which is built on the theory that punishment is the primary need of the prisoner. The court talks glibly about reformation—but the sentence is "five to twenty years at hard labor." The truth is that the most earnest search will reveal little coddling of prisoners in America, and where there is any it is due to favoritism and graft.

It is useless to deny that America is still of the sixteenth century mind in reference to prisoners in jails and penitentiaries. We may as well admit that we are persisting in the treatment of the so-called criminals by methods which have failed and failed again and again. Under the methods which are being used crime has not decreased but actually increased. If crime has on the whole lessened it surely has not been due to the school for crime which we call jails and penitentiaries.

We are going in our treatment of criminals on the theory that these are strong people of whom we are afraid. As a matter of fact, the breakers of law are not strong but weak people. It takes character—strong character to live in a social order. The weak man fails because he has not the strength to exercise the restraints on himself that the social order demands. He is mentally and morally a sick man. But we in our stupidity, go on treating him as a strong man. And he, because of this, actually thinks he is. A sixteen year old Boston boy, arrested by the police, was taken to the City Jail. He drew himself up as he stood in the "bull pen" and said, "The State of Massachusetts is afraid of me."

When a boy has scarlet fever, it is the scarlet fever not the boy of which we are actually afraid. Sickness is a danger to the community. We do not sentence him for a month in a hospital, we take care of him till he is well. It is true that all offenses against Society are not due to weakness. Just as all forms of rash are not the result of scarlet fever. In the latter case, we detain the patient until we are sure of what the symptoms indicate. Many a so-called crime is only a thoughtless boyish prank but it should be the business of society to find out what it really indicates as to the character of the individual.

It takes no deep research to discover that the ordinary violation of the social regulation is due to weakness. A large crowd was in a building which had signs on every side "No Smoking." The fire hazard was great. The lights went out. At once a score or more of cigarettes were lighted under the cover of darkness. The smokers were too weak to defy the law when the room was lighted and too weak to observe a regulation for their safety when the room was in darkness. The admission that one hears again and again in prisons is "in a moment of weakness!" When we recognize in America that our so-called "criminal class" are socially sick people who need hospital treatment, we will be accepting the facts instead of romancing with theories of vengeance and punishment.

We have gotten away from the idea of individual vengeance but we still practice group vengeance.

A sick man is not sent to a hospital for a specified length of time. But we still continue the absurdity of sending the mentally sick to jail for a term of years. The judge on the bench can not know when the one whom he sentences is ready to resume his place in society. The makers of the law which says, for a specified offense the sentence shall be from one to ten years, do not know either.

As a matter of fact, while the indeterminate sentence is a real step in advance, a person who is arrested for a minor offense, may be found to be one who should never resume his place in a social order. The treatment of prisoners on the theory that they are strong people has been a failure. Their treatment as weak persons might be tried without endangering the safety of society. ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

Jottings

A respectable New York newspaper, in a perfectly serious column, on shopping news, prints the following:

Gifts for the Traveller

In the Bon Voyage gift shop at Abraham & Straus' are a number of useful articles a traveller will not surreptitiously toss into the sea the moment the ship pulls out. A morning-after set of three discreet bottles in a leather case, containing bromo-seltzer, bicarbonate of soda and Eno fruit salts—how handy this may be at times!

We will be told that Prohibition is to blame for this! But is it Prohibition, or just debauched and besotted depravity which is as old at least as Noah?

"Winter Wheat Crop to Double United States Surplus."—New York *Herald-Tribune.*

Just think of all that wheat—and nobody to eat it!

A negro preacher in Washington has preached a 12-hour sermon and therewith established what he calls a new endurance record. But if endurance is in question, what about the record set by the congregation?

"Allahabad, India, June 8.—Eight persons were reported to have been killed and several others wounded in a shooting fray between landlords and tenants last night."

Just like Chicago, or New York! Who says that the Indians are not ready for self-government?

"Murder will out." So will innocence. But what does it matter in either case when murder is not pun-

ished, and innocence (as in the Mooney-Billings case) is not acquitted?

With this issue "Jottings" goes on its annual vacation. The department will be resumed in the issue of UNITY for October 5th next.

J. H. H.

Why I Am an Optimist!

I AM AN OPTIMIST

1.—*Because optimism connects me with earth's oldest and greatest.* In all ages there have been utopists of all sorts, seeking Utopias of one kind or another, and I am happy to join the procession. Prophetic eyes have always foreseen better times, and anticipated the advent of a better spirit. They have seen devourers of the people transformed into protectors, and wolves who cared only for the fleece changed into shepherds keeping the flock. If fires of selfishness consumed, rivers of beneficence extinguished the flames. Every people has produced its bards and singers, its Corn-law Rhymers and Ebenezer Elliotts singing that the people are more important than crowns and thrones; that the sun of freedom will disperse the horrors of despotic power; that songs shall take the place of sighs; that Liberty, Equality, Fraternity shall yet be translated from a formula into reality. As Daniel the Bible hero kept his windows open towards Jerusalem spite of Babylon's emperor and all his hosts, so have the great prophets kept the world's windows open towards some purer Athens and some juster Rome.

2.—*Because optimism agrees with the newest and best of the present age.* It is true that modern ideas differ in expression from those of ancient visionaries, yet there is in reality no new spirit, but only the old spirit working under new conditions. The benevolent despotism of the patriarchal age, the gilded chivalry of the feudal age, and the patronizing charity of the Victorian age are, no doubt, transcended by an age of democracy, which, however, is actually pursuing the ancient quest for an up-to-date explanation of the world and man's place in it, for a juster social order and a millennial terminus of some sort to human effort. Moral obligation still lies upon the mighty man to be the merciful man, upon the strong to be the tender, upon the brave to be also the loving. As of old, so now, to the degree in which one is gifted beyond, or lifted above, his fellows, it is that he may use his advantage on the side of those who are less bountifully endowed or less favorably situated. If Nature has stored his mind or enriched his character, it is that he may leaven the souls of those to whom she has been more niggardly. Never can the Ideal Man isolate himself on some proud eminence, but must bend to lift to his own height those who occupy the lower planes. According to the lights and possibilities of the succeeding ages, these eternal obligations have been honored, and are honored not less today. They constitute the evolving splendour of human character.

3.—*Because optimism accords with Nature's way.* Nature shows a pattern to man. If we walk through the woods we shall mark how the high beeches shelter the lowly violets, and the tall oaks stretch protecting arms above the lesser shrubs. So do human beings give and take love. Many a leaf falls untimely from the tree, and many feebler lives perish for lack of timely aid. Lower lives may be compared to ivy, which creeps along till it meets higher and stronger growths, grasping which it lifts itself towards sun and air. Ability and need are complementary to one another. Strength and weakness are meant to be reciprocal. Knowledge answers to ignorance, and riches supplement poverty till the disparity disappears. Religion's hope and effort is so to transform human character and the social system that (as a pious hymn says) there may be enough for each, enough for all, enough for evermore. Pessimism may sometimes have captured, but it never created, religion.

4.—*Because optimism harmonizes with human psychology.* Religion, philosophy, and ethics agree that the cultivation of character and the development of personality are primary obligations, but they insist that the acquisition of wisdom, strength and greatness does not entitle their possessor to egotistic pride or selfish gratification. They plant him on firm standing ground in order that he may effectively lean down to befriend those who are still on the ascent. That is the idea behind hero-worship. Carlyle's cult of heroes was no vulgar admiration for brute force; neither was Nietzsche's cult of the super-man. Yet Browning's Paracelsus comes forward with the noblest democratic prayer in literature:

> Make no more giants, God;
> But elevate the race at once!

Let all the people say, Amen! But, pending racial elevation, shall we not set the giants to supplement the dwarfs? It is personality that makes history. "Produce great persons," says Walt Whitman, "the rest follows." There are crises in which one *man* is worth millions of *men.* Again Whitman gives the word:

> "Is reform needed? is it through you?
> The greater the reform needed, the greater the Personality you need to accomplish it."

There are times, no doubt, when soulless rulers go with the mindless multitude to do evil; but when Humanity requires a head, a will, a being who shall be *all* man from crown to sole, the occasion seldom fails to call him forth. So Lowell puts it by the mouth of Hosea Biglow:

> More men? More Man! It's there we fail;
> Weak plans grow weaker yit by lengthenin';
> Wut use in addin' to the tail,
> When it's the head's in need o' strengthenin'?
> We wanted one thet felt all Chief
> From roots o' hair to sole o' stockin',
> Square-sot with thousan'-ton belief
> In him an' us, ef earth went rockin'!

If we look exclusively at the bare facts of the material universe we shall be pessimistic; we require to balance against them the subjective aspirations of man, as they are displayed in such representative heroes as David the leader of the Young Israel Party of his day, to whom, in the Cave of Adullam, there resorted all who were in distress, or bitter of soul, the ill-doing and the ill-done-by; or—going higher yet—such as

Gautama, Socrates and Jesus whose influence re-created the soul of the world.

5.—*Because optimism brings their best out of human beings.* The born king—the König—können—the man who *can* (It was Carlyle who reminded us of the derivation) is recognized by the things he does. He intensely believes, and therefore strongly acts. The people flock to him like birds to their nests. I am able to forgive the newspapers for the sensational mess of crime and folly they dish up day by day, in consideration of the instances of human heroism which they also chronicle. The other day, a woman of 76 walked into a burning house, brought out three children, and walked home again as if nothing had happened. A few days before, an unknown man swam into dangerous water, brought a drowning boy to shore, and disappeared in the crowd. Human strength and faith is forever matching itself against the pitiless forces of Nature. If a forest fire is closing upon an American town, there is a telegraph clerk who sticks to his instrument till he flashes an S. O. S. along the wire, and then dies. Not far off an engine driver sticks to his foot-plate over a blazing prairie till the skin peels, the eyes shrivel, and the blackened tongue hangs out of his mouth; but he saves his passengers. A liner is foundering in mid-Atlantic; the captain is offered a way of escape, but he leans over the rail and speeds the parting boat, saying: 'I will go down with my passengers.' The belief that there is something worth living for, and also dying for—that is optimism.

6.—*Because optimism exalts human nature.* It contemplates the life and love and sacrifice of men for their fellows, and estimates the universe by its best, not by its worst. It is inspired by the sight of men and women thrusting themselves between their comrades and danger or death. Multitudes of heroes have died without a name. They belong to the class described by Victor Hugo as "The Great Anonymous"—the great Unknown whom the crisis brings forth to speak the decisive word or do the decisive deed. In the momentary flash that revealed them they also vanished. Civilizations are built on the bones of pioneers who are not so much forgotten as that they were never known.

7.—*Because optimism is the way of progress.* It argues from the long record of the world's inventors, pioneers, reformers who have checkmated destructive forces, chained the lightnings, made the very winds our messengers and our ministers the flaming fires; frequently at the cost of much personal suffering and privation. "It is an undeniable fact," says Professor G. Elliott Smith in his "Human History," "that history is not shaped by communities or nations, but by individuals . . . men of insight and courage" who invented cardinal institutions, destroyed hampering traditions, and liberated the human mind. Not once but often has a Moses given deliverance to an oppressed people. Truth-seekers have promoted knowledge even though martyred by the very superstitions they sought to abolish. Agitators have pined in gaol through the unjust laws against which they protested. Yet the heroic breed has never been killed off. If, as the doxology admonishes, we should praise God from whom all blessings flow, we should not forget those human refuges and earthly providences who, disdaining the parish view of life, gave themselves to be unto others—to quote the eloquent words of a Hebrew prophet—"as an hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place; as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land."

8.—*Because optimism recognizes all the facts of life.* Shelley's dream is actually realized in numbers of the world's helpers, who did, and do, live as if to love and live were one. Right through ancient and contemporary story Hugo's great Anonymous is to the fore. I see that wherever there is a man in distress, there is a man to the rescue. Is it an explosion in a coal-pit? The difficulty is not to get a rescue party, but to hold them back. When the cry goes up: "A man fallen down the old Hell shaft," a pitman leaning against a shed in a drunken sleep pulls himself together, ducks his head in a puddle of water, and heads the rescue party. One may not be a saint or a hero all through, but in bits, and by fits and starts, or when the call comes. You point to the malign spectacle of a monopolist making a corner in wheat while the poor starve, but I counter with the philanthropist moving heaven and earth to feed them. The profiteer is countered by the pioneer. If the Bond-street lounger will not touch the poor with one of his fingers, there is the Settlement worker, the parish visitor, the half-starved curate, the over-worked sick nurse, the under-paid Salvation sister, who will minister to Lazarus the Unwashed as though he were God's very angel. If on one side stands the Pharisee anxious to save his own soul, opposite him stands the Good Samaritan who counts not his life dear to him if he can but save some. Is there a pilgrim fleeing from the City of Destruction? There is also an Evangelist pointing the way to the City of God. Is that a sailor clinging to a broken spar? Lo, a swimmer with a rope putting out to the rescue! Do murderous warriors fill hospitals with maimed and dismembered soldiers? Florence Nightingales go about to heal or soothe them till they die. No spot of earth so accursed, and no period so God-forsaken, but love and salvation find their embodiments. Even over the flames of hell—so runs a beautiful Welsh legend—hovers the robin with a drop of water in his bill, till the fire singes his feathers, and that's how he came by his red breast. Everywhere I see physicians with pity in their hearts and healing in their hands, while nurses bring lint and salve and the sweeter balm of kindness. In an imperfect world I everywhere meet reformers with their programmes, humanists who put mankind above country, and talented folk who throw away their careers for the sake of justice and the cause of the poor. The shepherd-heart of man gathers the young into schools, and the ignorant into lecture halls. While the Salvation lass beats the tom-tom at the street corner, the Hyde Park atheist sweats to convert Christians from the error of their ways, and under St. Pancras Arches the Communist or Anarchist propagandist, forsaking pipe and beer, unfolds the glories of a world that might be. Through all sorts and conditions of men, as through lamps of divers colors, glows the enthusiasm of humanity. I see poets alluring with ideals eternal in the heavens, I hear singers charming dull care away from burdened minds, and prophets declaring the sure purpose of the Eternal, till, like another Saul among the prophets, I find myself swearing that this world is not a devil's world staggering down to Gehenna and the everlasting swine's trough, but a God's world on the upward way of redemption. Voices of hope fill the

air. Almost in yon gorgeous sunset I espy cohorts of smiling angels.

9.—*Because optimism nourishes the protective instinct.* On the unmeaning roll of English rulers—compiled, I suppose, to dull the memories of school children—one's eye is arrested by Cromwell's title: "Lord Protector of England." In Motley's romantic story: "The Rise of the Dutch Republic," it is told that when William of Orange passed through a town, children and women welcomed him with the cry: "Father William is come!" We cannot be fathers or protectors to whole peoples, but to be protectors to the smallest part of England, or to the smallest English child, is to share with the mightiest men. I admire the school-boy who thrusts himself between a bully and his victim. The man who cannot pass the end of a street where a child is wailing in the dark has divinity within. "The woman who cannot comfort a child," says Madame Grand, "what sort of a woman is she?" And the man who can pass a weeping child or a lost dog in the street, what sort of a man is he? Humanity's hope is in such as do not check the impulse to pity by prudence, but who cherish it in love. Belief in betterment drives them on, and that is optimism.

10.—*Because, in a yet imperfect world, optimism makes pity or compassion the primary virtue.* While pessimism swelters in a hopeless hell-on-earth, optimism's hope of betterment and faith in the future think it worth while to relieve suffering innocence and redeem repellant vice, creating heaven-on-earth. Even Carlyle's railing voice breaks into tears and tenderness: "With other eyes, too, could I now look upon my fellowman: with an infinite Love, an infinite Pity. Poor, wandering, wayward man! Art thou not tried, and beaten with stripes, even as I am? Ever, whether thou bear the royal mantle, or the beggar's gabardine, art thou not so weary, so heavy-laden, and thy Bed of Rest is but a grave? O my Brother, my Brother, why cannot I shelter thee in my bosom, and wipe away all tears from thy eyes?" There beats the shepherd-heart of man!

> "A heart at leisure from itself
> To soothe and sympathise."

Optimism is hospitable as the redemptive charity of God. It believes the best of the worst. Its faith makes the world whole. Beautiful is the testimony of the Job poem: "When the ear heard me, then it blessed me; and when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me: Because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me; and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame. I was a father to the poor; and the cause which I knew not I searched out." It is the optimist who searches out the causes of human trouble, who makes compassion active, reformist, revolutionary, and he has his reward in the consciousness that he has increased the push of mankind towards the goal:

> If he hath hidden the outcast, or let in
> A ray of sunshine to the cell of sin,—
> If he hath lent
> Strength to the weak, and, in an hour of need,
> Over the suffering, mindless of his creed
> Or home, hath bent;
> He hath not lived in vain.

11.—*Because optimism responds to the world's need of cheer and help.* As I pondered the state of man, I seemed to catch the voices of Hardy's Spirit Ironic and Spirit Sinister, mocking human effort. But presently those pessimistic angels were out-voiced by the Spirit of the Pities, and my faith revived; for this is what it seemed to say: "Let me be a ministering spirit walking unseen through the ways of men. Wherever I find a child sick, or distressed, or maltreated, let me kiss it to rest and soothe it with pleasant dreams. Let me move up and down dreary streets restoring lost bairns to distracted mothers. Let me bear away to the woods and whispering seas such as droop in sunless tenements and vile rookeries. Let me remove misunderstandings, settle disputes, and give peace for war. I will not rest till I have suppressed the outrage of the poor, established justice, and given mankind virtue and happiness to the utmost limit of their capacity," Optimism believes in virtue and believes in happiness, and, after the manner of Prometheus, will not rest till it has brought them down from the abode of the gods.

12.—*Because optimism is the faith by which man lives.* In distressful times, says the prophet Habakkuk, "the just shall live by his faith." One of the finest and saddest books I know is Winwood Reade's "The Martyrdom of Man," written by a noble but faithless soul, to whom the upward struggle of the human race was only a prolonged agony. Optimism would traverse the same road of universal history, and entitle its book "The Melioration of Man." Religion, says a philosopher, is essentially "faith in the conservation of value." An important definition. The religion of optimism fully acknowledges the suffering side of life, but it refuses to believe that the universe is woven round an irreconcilable dualism, and that there is an indestructible principle of delusion and evil. It believes in the perishableness of evil, and the eternally increasing prevalence of good. The human values we have been discussing are eternally conserved and enhanced. This faith in the conservation of values is the never-weakening mainspring of progress. Selfishness is perishable, but self-giving is eternal. Treason is temporary; loyalty endures. Man is steadily pursuing the conquest of Nature, and his final conquest will be over himself. This thing is true, though the time appointed is long. It is pathetic to see in Reade's book the failure of hope, the fading of the dream. It is an empty pitcher he puts to the fainting lip of humanity. Mankind are left to blister in their eternally arid desert. The human back must eternally bend under its burden and the human heart eternally brew in its own bitterness. If this philosophy should unhappily prevail, farewell to human progress! The triumphs of man have been achieved through faith in betterment, effort for improvement, and even belief in final perfection and happiness. It is in the joy of the Eternal that reformers have found their strength. From the exhaustless well of Emerson's Over-soul mankind will continue to draw fresh and abounding vigor for ever new adventures on the upward way. It is the Over-soul that encircles, inspires, and energizes all lesser souls. Immortal Life will never cease to pour itself into earthly vessels. Whether the Good is omnipotent in the full meaning of that over-worked word, I am not just prepared to affirm. But I am very sure that the Ill is not omnipotent. Therefore I choose Good to be my God. And him only will I serve.

So now you know why I am an optimist.

WALTER WALSH.

Gandhi and His Place in the Indian Nationalist Movement

Ever since the appearance of Mahatma Gandhi on the political stage of the Indian world, the movement for national freedom has advanced with rapid strides. No other Indian political leader has so powerfully influenced the Indian situation and has contributed so much to the national awakening as the Mahatma. In less than a decade he has wrought far-reaching changes in the structure of Indian society and has transformed the psychical physiognomy and the habits of thought and action of the Indian people. No other Indian brings so many qualifications to bear on his task as the sage of Sabarmati—such firmness, courage, caution, such profound sympathy with the poor and oppressed, such a passionate love for the cause of his country, and such a rare and almost infallible comprehension of the character, aims and needs of his countrymen. He is endowed with all those qualities which are dear to the Indian heart and win a universal respect and recognition of the common people of the East. His purity of life, nobility of character, his utter disregard for worldly riches and honors, the integrity and chastity of his life, and his complete aversion to praise or recrimination make him the most popular man with people of all classes and conditions and exalt him to the rank of divinity in the minds of his followers. Indians may differ from him in his methods of political agitation and may seriously doubt the success of his gospel of non-violence; but no one can question his sincerity and his indefatigable zeal which he has shown in his patriotic duty and in his struggle to liberate India from the strangle hold of British imperialism. He is one of the most sincere workers in the cause of Indian freedom and is justly regarded by his countrymen as a national hero and a political saint.

The most important contribution which Gandhi has made to Indian nationalism is that he has brought the masses of India within the orbit of national awakening and has aroused them from their docile acquiescence in things as they are and from their pathetic contentment with their sordid and wretched conditions. India is practically an agricultural country and more than 70 per cent of the Indian people extract their sustenance from the soil. Before the advent of the Mahatma rural populations evinced no interest in politics and were not animated by any political and economic aspirations. They were content to take life as it is and were not moved by the exhortations of popular orators and the slogans of national freedom and responsible government. Gandhi has inspired them with new ideas and a better political and social order and has infused in them a passionate longing for economic amelioration. He has swept them into the national current and has enlisted them in his campaign to paralyze the foreign administration and established despotism. It is the most clever move on the part of the Mahatma and is fraught with serious consequences for the future of India and England. The economic foundations of British rule in India are essentially based and rest on the masses; and any movement that will alienate them will strike at the very root of British administration and will shake the whole fabric of government machinery to its foundations. Already the refusal of Indian peasants to pay their land taxes is causing severe uneasiness to the Indian government and reducing it to financial disaster and ruin. The agrarian revolt is not yet nation wide and does not partake of an all-India character. It is yet confined within restricted areas and has taken hold of those agricultural classes who are keenly susceptible of economic wretchedness and slavery and are most open to new ideas and modern influences. With the general spread of education and Gandhi's teaching among the masses the movement for emancipation will spread from one end of the country to the other and will entail a complete revolution in the structure of Indian society and government. The feudalistic basis of land tenure and land ownership is liable to be swept away, and Indian land aristocracy as represented by big landlords, Zemindars, sirdars, nawabs, and thakars will be brought down to the common level and cast down from their proud and haughty places in the near future.

The awakening among the women of India is far more significant and is fraught with deeper possibilities than the precipitation of Indian peasantry into the movement for national freedom. The present crusade of civil disobedience against British administration inaugurated by Gandhi is directly and indirectly responsible for the vast change that has come over the Indian females. A decade ago there was practically no nationalistic feeling among them, and they were a negligible factor in the political and national life of their country. Their activities were confined to petty domestic affairs and their minds moved in restricted and narrow spheres. Their main object in life was to procreate and rear children and to look after and cater for the well-being and happiness of their husbands and sons. But now they have liberated themselves from the trammels of seclusion and absurd social superstitions which condemned them to mere household drudgery and imposed upon them severe restrictions. They have cast aside their veils and age-old sanctified customs and have begun to take part in Indian political and national life. The present movement for national self-determination is carried on mostly by them, and there is no department of Indian life and activity in which they have not made their influence felt. They preside over congress war councils, serve as national volunteers, picket all liquor and opium shops, persuade the Indian merchants to give up the importation of foreign made cloth, and spread the gospel of nationalism among rural populations. Many of them are rotting in jails and are undergoing severe punishments and tortures at the hands of British police and tyranny. It is extremely painful to see young women of noble families, sterling character, noble aims and lofty ideals, and liberal education throwing away their lives for the sake of redeeming their country from foreign rule.

It is the awakening of the nascent national self-consciousness among Indian peasantry and Indian women that has given an immense impetus to the nationalist movement and has made it a most formidable factor in the political situation of India today. As long as the movement was confined to an infinitesimal minority of western educated Indians and expressed itself in words and beggarly resolutions, the British government could afford to ignore it with contemptuous indifference and turn a deaf ear to the demands of Indian national congress and politicians. But now the movement is nation-wide and animates

all classes of the Indian people without distinction of race, religion, or caste.

Rich and poor, prince and peasant, Hindu and Moslem, moderate and extremist are all afflicted with the fever of national freedom and desire a new political status for their country appropriate to its size and population. They have, of course, their differences and are sundered by jarring material interests and conflicting claims. But they do not want to be ruled and exploited by the alien masters. Common economic interests, common racial origins, common country, and common suffering tend to unite them in one indissoluble bond and to create in them a common nationalistic sentiment and feeling. They want to establish their own government and to work out their destinies in accordance with their own ideals and historical past and on the basis of their own racial psychology.

The real problem of India practically has very little to do with the discussions at the Round Table and the debates in British parliament. It is not a problem which can be settled by the acts of British parliament and British political shibboleths and maneuvers. Ten years ago that may have been possible. Today it can only be settled by Indians in India. Whatever may have been the origin of the Indian tangle, it has now become essentially a dispute not between India and England, but between Hindus and Moslems. If they can compromise their differences and come to terms they can choose their form of government tomorrow; there will not be any hostile party or group in England strong enough to resist them. All the material resources and man-power of the British Empire will fail to bring the Indian people to reason and to smite them into submission. The quarrel between the two great Indian communities is therefore the whole of the Indian problem today, and it is inconceivable that it will be settled save by direct negotiation between the two parties to it, or by civil war and bloodshed. It is a complete delusion to suppose that the cardinal difficulties can be smoothed over by any compromise which English legislators can devise. As things stand there is no prospect that any constitution formulated by British statesmen will be accepted by the two communities and the Indian people as a whole.

The path of India is beset with difficulties and it will take a considerable time to thrash out a constitution on which all Indian communities will agree and accord their consent. But there are unmistakable signs that India will emerge out of the present welter of communal dissension into the limelight of a better day and will surmount obstacles that condemn her to bear the brunt of foreign subjection. Many forces are working to bring about a radical modification in Indian mentality and politics and to lead the Indian people into the path of political unity and national regeneration. The spread of western education, the increasing influence of the Indian press, the progress of means of communication, the easier contact with foreign nations, and the more ready influx of modern ideas, the impact of Chinese and Russian upheavals, are beginning to produce a marked effect upon the people. New ideas are springing up; new aspirations are being called forth. The power of public opinion is growing daily. Those who are educated in western secular education are not afflicted with the disease of communal rivalry and do not aspire after communal privileges and representation. They are free from old religious prejudices and sincerely desire the evolution of their country on national and modern lines. They are coming to the fore in Indian politics and their influence is extending among all classes of Indian society. They are today the heralds of a new and modern India; they will be the harbingers of a united and national India tomorrow.

DALJIT SINGH SADHARIA.

Thoughts of Tolstoy

[*Selections from "Readings for Every Day" here published for the first time in English*]

CV

1.

The superstition of government is harmful in that it gives out falsehood as the truth; but it is most of all harmful in that it teaches good people to believe that it is necessary to do deeds opposed to conscience, opposed to the law of God: to despoil the poor, to punish, to make war.

2.

We can understand why kings, ministers, rich men assure themselves and others that men cannot live without government: all their advantages would be lost without government. But why do the poor uphold government, the poor for whom government does nothing, and whom it only torments? Because the superstition of government has been insinuated into their minds.

3.

Organizers of business undertakings (capitalists) plunder the people by making themselves mediators between the workers and those who supply tools and raw materials. Merchants plunder in the same way by becoming middlemen between producer and consumer. And governmental plunder is established likewise under the pretense of mediation between the wronged and the wrong-doers.

4.

The chief difference between a representative and a despotic government is, not that greater justice is brought about by representative government, but only that under it people have no right to complain of bad government.

5.

Men of our day are so used to being forbidden to do certain deeds, out of all deeds that are done, and being ordered to do certain others, no matter how hard it may be for them—knowing that if they do what is forbidden or do not what is ordered, someone will punish them for this, and it will be the worse for them—they are so used to this, that they do not even ask who are the men that forbid and order, or who will punish them for disobedience, but submissively carry out all that is demanded of them.

It seems to men that all this is demanded of them,

not by men, but by some special sort of being, which they call authority, government, state. But let them only ask themselves, who are authorities, governments? and they will understand that these are simply people like everyone else, whose orders will be carried out by none other than the very class of people which they oppress.

6.

If only a thousandth part of the efforts that men make to establish all the institutions of government (police, armies, prisons, orphan asylums, homes for the aged, foundling asylums, mad houses, hospitals, insurance societies, institutions for delinquent children, and all the compulsory educational institutions, built up on money collected by force, and intended to conceal evil, while they only increase it) if a thousandth part of this effort were directed to opposing that which these institutions serve to conceal, the evil that they are intended to correct, would soon be destroyed.

7.

If the lower classes, the most numerous of all, oppress and torment themselves, and at the same time do deeds opposed to their own consciences—the cause of this can be nothing but a deception that is constantly maintained. We know that the workers and the poor are incomparably more numerous than the non-workers and the rich; hence the oppression of the workers cannot be accomplished by the people of the ruling classes alone. If workers are to be oppressed, they must oppress themselves. And to make them do this, they cannot be promised the rewards of oppression, as is done in the case of the ruling classes, because in that case the workers would have to take away their own property from themselves. Hence the workers must be constantly, intensively deceived—and this is the very thing that government does.

8.

It always seems to worldly people that the whole activity of Christians, who have freed themselves from governmental power and denounced it, is an idle, useless activity; that Christians, who denounce power, are doomed to perish, while the world continues to go its way, independent of their activity; that the efforts of Christians and the efforts of the world to improve its form of life are two separate things—each unto itself—between which there neither has been, nor is any bond. But this is untrue. In spite of the fact that governments assiduously conceal all instances of such activity, in spite of the amazing lack of understanding of the significance of these events on the part of the press, and the consequent inattention to them, hundreds of such cases are known by me to have taken place recently, not only in Russia, but in Europe, where the same conditions must call forth the same manifestations. All these cases of refusal to take the oath of allegiance, rejection of military service, refusal to serve in courts, to pay taxes, in general to take part in coercive government—however rare they may be in comparison with the number of men who comply with the demands of governments—still, not only do they fail to pass off without leaving any trace behind them, but they are big with tremendous consequences. And the governments feel this and tremble before them.

CVI

1.

The fact that it is written in some book that this book is from God, does not mean that it really is from God. But that our reason is from God—this we certainly know. Hence we should verify, not reason by books, but books by reason.

—*After Lichtenberg.*

2.

When Christ was asked, "What is the Law?" he answered once, "Love God and your neighbor." Another time he said, "As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye likewise unto them." In this is all the Law. Buddha and Confucius said the same thing. But now ask those versed in the law, "What is the law?" They cannot answer briefly, but say that this must be studied for a long time.

3.

The faith of the church proves its truth by miracles, and then proves the veracity of miracles by the fact that the church recognizes them.

4.

In educating children we must remember that we are educating them for a life not in the present, but in the future state of the human race, that is for a life under other, better conditions. It is especially important to remember this. But usually parents educate their children to be fit for the present world. We should educate children for the better organized world of the future, and thus improve the future organization of the world.

So Kant writes. This mistake in the education of children is especially noticeable, when we give children religious instruction that might have seemed true only to people who lived a thousand years ago.

5.

To pray means to call up in oneself the supreme divine reason that dwells in all men. It is only possible to do this in solitude. Hence all public prayers are only the semblance of prayer.

6.

Every external religious ceremony is the enemy of religion. Ceremonies cannot call forth a religious frame of mind. Ceremonies only call forth its semblance, while making man think that he possesses that which he has not.

7.

However strange it may seem, the churches as churches always were, and cannot fail to be, institutions not only alien, but inimical to the teaching of Christ. Not without reason do almost all the so-called sects recognize the church as that scarlet woman prophesied in the Apocalypse; not without cause is the history of the church, the history of the greatest cruelties and horrors.

Churches as such are not institutions that, even though they depart somewhat from the straight path, still have the essence of Christianity as their foundation—as many think: churches as churches, as assemblies asserting their infallibility, are antichristian institutions. Not only is there nothing in common between churches as such and Christianity, but they are two quite contrary principles, inimical to each other. One is pride, violence, self-assertion, immobility and death; the other, humility, repentance, submissiveness, movement and life.

You cannot serve these two masters at once, you must choose one or the other.

8.

It often happens that we hear a good man argue warmly in defense of an evident falsehood. This is

explained by the fact that he has need of this falsehood either in his present or his future deeds, or to justify his past deeds. Such is always the foundation of false belief.

CVII

1.

When people study for their own sake, such study is beneficial to them; if they study for the sake of praise, it is worse; and if they study for the sake of money, it is always harmful.

2.

It is better to know a little and know it very well, than to know a great deal indifferently.

3.

It often happens that men who have learned all sciences, that is, who have committed to memory other people's thoughts, pride and exalt themselves over skilled blacksmiths, carpenters or shoemakers. But it would be more fitting for the blacksmith, the shoemaker or the carpenter to pride himself over the scholar. A skilled worker can make something useful to other people, while the scholar can only repeat other people's thoughts, often quite useless ones, which he has committed to memory.

4.

One often hears people say in support of their opinion, Science says so. But science has in itself no proofs whatsoever of its own truth, except men's assurance that everything it says is true. Hence we cannot believe science (as we cannot believe the church) when it confirms its truthfulness by the fact that it is—science.

5.

Wisdom does not lie in knowing a great deal. We can by no means know everything. Neither does wisdom lie in knowing as much as possible, but rather in knowing which of the sciences are most necessary, which are less necessary and which are still less so. Of all the sciences needful to man, the most important is the science of how to live well, that is how to live so that I may gain the greatest possible felicity—and felicity that should not hinder, but further, the felicity of all men. Often, very often, in our day, men seek out teachers with difficulty and study all sorts of most unnecessary sciences, but do not learn the one science that all the great teachers of the world have taught men briefly and clearly.

(To be continued)

Trumpets on New Horizons

The Secret Place

Once when Time yet slumbered,
Before evil began,
The gods on their hills grew angry
At viewing arrogant man

Upon their upper pastures
Pompously advance,
Encroaching upon their lore with
Elaborate ignorance.

Then the gods said scowling,
"Punished must he be!
We shall sever from him
His immortality!

But where is the place to hide it
So he must always seek?
Fathoms under the ocean
Or leagues on the topmost peak?

Yet he will plumb Pacifics
And scale Himalayan slopes;
And the far constellations
He'll comb with his telescopes . . . "

The universe they prowled in,
Hunting if they could see
A hidden nook for concealing
Man's immortality.

Until at last they discovered
A secret place apart
Where man would not think to look in—
They hid it deep in his heart!

LOUIS GINSBERG

Rising Tide

Lava, flowing hot from breasts of mother earth
Destroys the old in glad rebirth
Of higher, cleaner lands.
Spirit wells a love that burns in souls of men,
Reclaiming ground to build again
The commonwealth that stands.

CLIFFORD ALLEN

"Convict!"

How you delight to mouth that bitter word;
Emblazon it that all the world may sneer.
Not satisfied to crush the broken herd,
You must resort to mental chains of fear!

Your jingoistic papers love to tell,
In lurid headlines, of our past mistakes,—
How many words in all their columns spell
The tale of those whom rectitude retakes?

Have done with clanking fetters of a foe
Whom you have punished and have robbed of pride!—
Their lot is hard enough, as you would know
Did you attempt to breast the scornful tide.

Then show the mercy you yourself would claim
Had your head bowed beneath the lash of shame.

D'NOVA
(Himself a prisoner)

Utterly Gay

I shall be utterly gay
When I have learned how I may

Shut from the house of my mind
The haunting gaze of the blind,

And deafen my ears to the cries
Of the vendor, when nobody buys,

When I can laugh at the cost
Of youth's daring battle, lost,

And when I have no more tears
For my brothers' hunger and fears . . . .

Not till that terrible day
Shall I be utterly gay.

ALICE FERRIN HENSEY

The Study Table

Reviews by John Haynes Holmes

A Great Teacher

The reading of this book* is a touching experience for any one who has studied under Professor Palmer and therewith had the inestimable privilege of contact with this greatest teacher of his generation. Professor Palmer began his life-work in 1870 as a teacher of Greek at Harvard. In 1872, he was transferred to the department of Philosophy, where he taught for more than forty years. During this period "more than fifteen thousand students" passed through his classes, many of them among the happy chosen in "Phil. 4," and I doubt if any one man among all this multitude has ever forgotten the quiet, shy, near-sighted, soft-voiced little professor whose lectures seemed the very synthesis of wisdom and beauty.

Professor Palmer was active in the great days of the greatest philosophical faculty that this country has ever known. He was the colleague and more than once the chief of such associates as William James, Josiah Royce, Hugo Munsterberg, George Santayana, C. C. Everett, and F. G. Peabody. Unlike certain of these giants, he was not an original or creative thinker. He led no movement of thought; his name is associated with no doctrine; there is no distinctively "Palmerian philosophy." His function proved to be preeminently that of the expositor and critic, and in these roles he was incomparable. I sat under him, first, as a member of a large elementary course in the history of philosophy; and, last, I listened enwrapped in the ever-memorable course on the "theory of ethics considered constructively" (Phil. 4). In both courses, for the neophytes as for the advanced students, Palmer was the perfect master of his pedagogic art.

This book is, I think, the briefest and most modest autobiography I have ever read. Yet it seems to cover the ground—the salient circumstances of the author's outward life and the basic factors of his inward thought. In essence the volume is a description of Professor Palmer's mind—its growth, its nourishment, its contacts, its opinions, its ideals. It might be called, after the example of Henry Adams, "The Education of George Herbert Palmer"—with this enormous difference that, whereas the education of Henry Adams touched nobody but himself, and that in terms of failure, the education of Professor Palmer became transformed, through the magic of his personality, the miracle of his art, and the tender grace of his heart, into the education also of two generations of young men.

Yet there is more, much more, in this book than the story of a philosopher and his mental experiences and interests. Thus, the story of Professor Palmer's early years—his broken health, his repeated frustrations and disappointments, his valiant struggles and acquired disciplines—is a priceless piece of autobiography. There are paragraphs which are whole chapters of the history of Harvard University. The statement of his religious faith is a model of simplicity, candor, and serene faith. The touching narrative of his first love and marriage is an idyl of purest beauty. Professor Palmer describes with fond precision his methods of writing and lecturing.

> Writing (he says) has always remained extremely difficult. The blank page lying before me waiting to be filled has never ceased to be an object of horror.

But one would never guess it from these limpid pages. Their clarity is unfailing, their charm ineffable. Undoubtedly this is because the author has taken pains with his writing. "Easy writing is usually hard reading," is his judgment. "Hard writing, if right methods are employed, makes a reader's work easy."

Professor Palmer's book is full of fascinating personalities, if I may so style his references to distinguished persons whom he has known. Unforgettable in its humility and warm affection is his picture of his colleagues on the Harvard faculty of Philosophy. A passage on Edward Caird is a noble tribute to a noble man. He names President Tucker, of Dartmouth, as a life-long friend. From President Eliot he "learned more about the wise guidance of life than from any other single man. Perhaps he was the greatest man I ever studied." But, right or wrong, there is discrimination in Professor Palmer's judgment! John Stuart Mill moved him early, and remains to the end an object of fervent admiration, but he records that "Herbert Spencer never affected (him) in any such way." Sticking out from the charming text like a bent pin on a chair cushion is a single sentence about the Exchange Professorship in Berlin. "This I declined," the sentence runs, "because I was unwilling to meet the Kaiser, whom I regarded as the most dangerous man in Europe."

This book would be an achievement for any man in the prime of life. When one notes that it is written by a teacher and scholar now in the eighty-ninth year of his age, who records that his "mind began to fail under (his) last surgical operation," the work takes on something of the aspect of a miracle. In nothing is it more remarkable than the serenity and cheer with which the author enters the shadows of his many years. Professor Palmer has had his share of disabilities, disappointments, and bitter sorrows. One can imagine his rebelling, as Carlyle did, against his persistent bad health—"up to about my fortieth year headaches were almost continuous, and I have never slept a night through in my life!" Cynicism might easily have followed upon the discovery of his "bad memory" which forbade his ever being a great scholar. Jealousy of his more famous colleagues at Harvard might almost have been pardoned. Grief at the untimely deaths of the two wonderful women who became, one early and one late, his wives, might easily have embittered his soul. But none of these reactions ever appeared. Professor Palmer was always calm, sweet-tempered, gentle, and resolutely happy. Now, in his great old age, he looks back with contentment, as forward with hope. Very beautiful are the closing passages of his story.

> I dreamed (he writes) of happy marriage, of a large library, of foreign travel, of clearing my mind of philosophic and religious perplexities, of teaching in some great university, of being widely loved, of strenuous middle life with an old age of health and financial ease, of winning fame, especially

*"The Autobiography of a Philosopher," by George Herbert Palmer. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co. $2.00.

as a writer. Looking back I can say I have little more to wish. The years have brought substantially what I asked.

Then, enumerating his rewards with quiet humility, he adds.

As I see these things rising behind me, they do not seem of my doing. Some greater power than I has been using me as its glad instrument.

The Second Amritsar

This pamphlet* is the second of a series on contemporary events in India now being prepared and published by Dr. Muzumdar, an Indian scholar and friend of Gandhi now resident in this country. It is a compilation of various reports and documents giving in full and vivid detail the dreadful story of the massacres at Peshawar which stained with horror the early days of the non-violent campaign for India's independence in 1930. The introduction, written by the Editor, gives the setting of the story, and properly revives the earlier story of Amritsar. For Peshawar is only the "Amritsar massacre on a larger scale."

What the Indians endured in their *Satyagrahi* campaign, and how nobly they sustained under the most terrible provocation the ideals of their Mahatma, is here vividly set forth. The whole story is only one more evidence of the truth that "this born leader of men is capable of moulding heroes out of clay."

Dr. Muzumdar is doing an excellent piece of work in preparing these pamphlets for the American public. Copies should be in the hands of all friends and advocates of India's cause.

*"Peshawar: Men Versus Machine Guns," India Today and Tomorrow Series, No. 2. Edited by Haridas T. Muzumdar, Ph.D., 20 Vesey Street, New York City. 25 cents per copy, 5 copies for one dollar.

Correspondence

Wealth Zealous in Anti-Prohibition Cause

Editor of UNITY:

The Association Against the Prohibition Amendment has been hard at work for the past two years figuring up our drink bill, and has found that it comes to $2,848,000,000, or quite a bit more than we paid before prohibition. On the other hand, the Prohibition Bureau, whose facilities should enable it to secure the most accurate figures attainable, has from time to time declared that our liquor consumption is only a fraction of what it was in saloon days. It would seem that the gathering of liquor statistics is a precarious business in the present chaotic state of the traffic.

There is of course a very considerable amount of liquor consumed in our larger cities. But the testimony of observant travelers is that throughout the country the signs of drinking are far fewer than before prohibition. I would like to add my own experience in having traveled in portions of ten of our states within the past two years, stopping in several small sized cities, and having seen on these journeys no signs of drinking except across the border, in Mexico. In that half-hour's walk through the business streets of Jaurez I saw more evidence of drinking than I have seen in the United States in the whole ten years of prohibition.

There is a rather complicated situation in connection with the grape wine industry which the anti-prohibitionists have dwelt much upon. It seems the industry has grown amazingly—as well it might. For we are told that its products, at least those in the form now being largely sold, not only enjoy "complete immunity from the penalties of the Volstead Act," but the industry has had help from Uncle Sam in the form of loans to the amount of some $34,000,000.

There is no gainsaying the fact that the grape juice problem has proved a knotty one for the Prohibition Bureau to deal with. But one is puzzled at first to understand what the ardent anti-prohibitionist finds in this matter to complain about.

The reason becomes clear when you examine another part of their propaganda. The liquor traffic is outlawed and hence pays no taxes; whereas if legalized it could be made to pay something like $850,000,000 yearly in revenue. This amount, we are told, now has to be made up by "additional taxes upon the people"—as if a tax levied on a legalized liquor traffic would not be paid out of the people's pockets!

There would be this difference, however. Under a legalized and taxed liquor traffic, this portion of the government revenues would be paid largely by the consumers of beer, the working classes; whereas now it is paid in the form of income taxes by wealthy men and corporations. And there are some of us who are just inconsiderate enough to believe that these latter (mainly beneficiaries of governmental favors) are the ones who ought to pay it so long as capitalism is maintained.

In the gubernatorial campaign in Pennsylvania last fall one of the well-to-do men fighting against Mr. Pinchot was frank enough to say he wanted to see the legalized liquor traffic restored because it would enable the federal government to collect its needed revenue from the masses, and thus do away with the taxes on large incomes. And Pierre du Pont is reported to have admitted before a Senate committee that if the liquor traffic were legalized and taxed as formerly, the interests he represents would be freed from $10,000,000 income taxes yearly. These facts help us to see why some of our men of great wealth are very zealous in the anti-prohibition cause.

F. S. KINDER

Denver, Colo.

The Life of Jesus

Editor of UNITY:

Under the title "A New Life of Jesus," you make the following statements regarding Farrar's, Papini's and similar lives of Christ: "These biographies of the Nazarene have no scientific value of any kind.—Their data are not facts, but imagination.—They give us only vain, and often vapid dreams, all—as unreal as a Christmas card."

Against these statements I place the weighty conclusion of Dr. Mark Hopkins, one of New England's greatest, and clearest thinkers: "It would be a greater miracle for any man to conceive, or invent such a life and character as is portrayed by Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, than that such a life and character should have actually existed."

I am with you on India, Prohibition, Militarism, Gandhi, etc.

JAMES TOOKER FORD

Disarmament

Editor of UNITY:

I note the first editorial in your May 18th issue. If there is to be any chance at all for real disarmament as a result of the Geneva Conference, the proposal of the Women's Peace Union for the advocacy of "Total Disarmament Now" needs to be pushed. And if Hoover means disarmament, he will have to refrain from appointing militarists as delegates. The London Conference resulted in at least nominal regulation, but *not* even actual reduction of armaments. And as long as a nation maintains *any* armaments it is *not* disarmed. Genuine disarmament must be taught until the people give up their faith in violence. Of course, to totally remove the economic incentive to armaments, we must go to the very root of sane adult human association. That means, learn to establish *equal freedom* for *all* sane adults throughout the world—which necessitates hour-for-hour price-fixing in *all* business.

VAUGHN BACHMAN BROKAW

Del Rosa, Cal.

The Field

(*Continued from Page 274*)

The allies have at times bitterly denounced the United States for attempting to collect the debts, as adjusted, owing to us, on the ground that they were not able to pay. At the same time the allies, the winners of the war, have put upon Germany, the loser of the war, stripped of many of her sources of raw materials and processes of commerce, not only the entire burden of the payment of the debts of the twelve or more allied nations to the United States but a sum almost double that amount. This makes the charge against the United States not only unfair but absurd. And while Germany should be made to pay, it should be not "the most she can" but the "least she must" to clean up the war mess, and at the same time safeguard her republic and the liberty of her people.

The result of all this, particularly during the last two years of abnormal business depression, with its toll of unemployment, has been to make such a political issue of this condition in Germany that the Reich has been compelled by force of events to herald its inability to meet the reparations. For the last five years a German with an income of $800 or more must pay a substantial income tax and as general conditions have grown steadily worse instead of better, the present development should easily have been anticipated. No one, especially in this country, wants the German people to live in economic slavery, and the question is, how can all the nations interested form a plan of reorganization or readjustment which would be fair to all, and, therefore, one in which the United States should gladly join? This will take time.

I suggest the following modus vivendi:

That a moratorium on debts and reparations (without relinquishment of either) be granted for, say, one year. During this period of moratorium three things should happen:

1. The interested nations, in fact all the important financial nations, should meet together to consider the situation and to work out alternative solutions.

2. A committee could be appointed by the president for the preparation of a plan that would be equitable to the United States.

3. Within the same time—namely, in February, 1932, the great world conference on disarmament will meet in Geneva. It is practically the unanimous sentiment in this country that the United States should not participate in any further readjustment regarding reparations and debts until the burden and curse of armaments, now costing the world at least $5,000,000,000 a year, are lifted from the backs of the peoples of the world. The rule of force must cease and the rule of reason and justice must be its substitute. There is a fair and safe method of cutting down armaments drastically which will meet with the support of the people of all lands.

The effect of the foregoing should be to take the greatest possible step forward to the readvent of prosperity both here and abroad and in anticipation thereof to start the wheels of commerce moving, embolden capital and make potent and effectual the latent forces of civilization.

At worst for us such a plan would only temporarily slow down the payment of our war debts, which has been proceeding far more rapidly than in any other country in the world. For the ultimate plan should provide for a reasonable but adequate bond issue by Germany from the proceeds of which the United States government should receive a fair cash settlement of its present claims and thus all interallied and allied debts would be eliminated.

—*Chicago Daily News*

The Wets Get Nowhere Rapidly

Just to keep the record straight, because so much of the daily press fails so conspicuously to do so, it is worth noting that prohibition repeal bills in some form or other met defeat, during the sessions of 1930-31, in the legislatures of California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Iowa, Indiana, Missouri, New Jersey, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, and at the hands of a governor's veto in Illinois. There are some interesting names in that list—even the two states that refused to ratify the 18th amendment are there! New Jersey, also, where all wet bills and resolutions died in committee, despite Senator Morrow's campaign, is worth thinking about. Referenda on repealing state prohibition laws were defeated in the legislatures of California, Indiana, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Washington. Resolutions asking for a constitutional convention to repeal the 18th amendment were introduced and defeated in New Jersey, Ohio, South Dakota and Wisconsin. (Yes, Wisconsin!) Bills legalizing beer, wine, and other liquors, were introduced and defeated in the legislatures of Alabama, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Rhode Island, South Dakota and Washington. A total of forty-two states took action either to sustain or strengthen some aspects of their liquor laws. How much prominence is the press in your community giving to facts such as these? Or to the actual organization of such an effective prohibition fighting force as "The Allied Drys"? In contrast, how much prominence did it give to the "estimate" of the American drink bill as made by the Association against the prohibition amendment?

—*The Christian Century*

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